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The Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society.

We give up this issue of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE largely to the proceedings of the seventy-seventh annual meeting of the American Peace Society held on the 18th of May. The occasion was an unusually interesting and impressive one. The fact that the day was being observed as international peace day by the peace societies all over the civilized world, and by many other organizations, including for the first time the schools of Massachusetts, Ohio, New York City and of other sections of the country, made those present realize as never before the immense progress of the peace cause in the last six years, and gave an unusual touch of interest and enthusiasm to the proceedings.

The business meeting of the members in the afternoon was well attended and full of confidence and hope. The annual reports of the Directors and the Treasurer showed that the year, both financially and in the amount of work accomplished, had gone much beyond the preceding one. The large increase in membership was most encouraging. Profound satisfaction was felt also at the remarkable progress during the year of the idea of a stated congress of the nations, and of the principle of pacific adjustment of controversies, as evidenced by the numerous arbitration treaties concluded, and the friendly settlement of the North Sea incident by a commission of inquiry.

The decision of the Directors to make the attempt to raise funds with which to procure a permanent headquarters for the society — discussed elsewhere in this number — met with the warmest approval, and all present pledged themselves to use their best endeavors to make the undertaking a success. The feeling was general that the time was ripe for this step, and that the cause would be much promoted by it not only in this country, but also in Europe, where it is hoped that a number of prominent centres of peace propaganda may be at an early day adequately endowed and equipped.

The annual dinner in the evening, in which more than eighty persons shared, could not well have been improved upon. We do not refer to what was on the tables, though that was above criticism. The whole spirit of the occasion was admirable. The speakers represented some of the most important organizations in the Commonwealth, all of which are now actively enlisted in the cause of international goodwill and peace. The addresses were entirely above the usual order of after-dinner effusions. They dealt with the various topics touched upon in a most practical way, and yet in a spirit of lofty idealism. Our readers who did not have the privilege of hearing them will wish to read them, and so we give them in full in this issue.

On such anniversaries as this it is natural to compare the present with the past, to find out what advancement, if any, has been made. But it is difficult to get one's self back in spirit seventy-seven years, and realize the great difference between the position of the peace movement then and now. Then war was the natural order of the day. The friends of peace were few and worked in obscurity, unrecognized, or ridiculed as dreamers or hopeless idiots To-day their principles are already adopted in considerable measure by the governments themselves. The methods which they have recommended are no longer held to be impracticable. Their congresses, grown to large proportions, are welcomed by leading government officials, and their cause generally confessed to be one of the greatest and most beneficent before the world. The progress of the movement since the first peace societies were organized in 1815 has not been rapid; it has even had periods of serious arrest; but it has been sure. Its momentum has

finally grown so great that it is now practically irresistible. The governments are no longer able to refuse its behests. It will have its way everywhere before long. War is doomed.

It is a great time in which to live and work. Let us thank God and take courage.

A Permanent Headquarters for the American Peace Society.

We call the attention of all the members and friends of the American Peace Society to the Appeal, published on another page, for funds with which to procure a building to serve as a permanent headquarters of the Society. The reasons are there given why the Society should have such a building and what service an adequate headquarters would render in the enlargement and strengthening of its work.

The sum asked for may seem to many a large one. But in a great city like Boston where land is enormously expensive one hundred thousand dollars will buy only a very modest estate. Furthermore, the money will not be sunk in brick and mortar and become unproductive. It is estimated that the rentals from the rooms not needed for offices will amount to four per cent. net on the investment, and thus the building when secured will become a permanent endowment yielding a steady annual income. With the increased funds thus provided the work now done by the Society can be not only doubled but quadrupled. Even thus the growing demands made upon it by the extraordinary increase of public interest in the cause of international arbitration and peace cannot be half met. Double the sum asked for could be immediately put to the most profitable use.

Our friends understand all this without any argument. We appeal to them, one and all, to make as large subscriptions as possible to the purchase fund. It is an extraordinary opportunity, and ought to be met with extraordinary energy. No money need be paid until the entire hundred thousand dollars is pledged, as will be seen by reading the terms of the subscription. Two years' time is given in which to make payment, and that will make it easy for any one desiring to help to do so.

If all the members, the actual paying members of the Society only, would contribute an average of one hundred dollars each, seventy thousand dollars would be pledged. Some of course can do little or nothing. Others can give only five or ten dollars. But a large number can easily spare a hundred dollars. Some can spare a thousand dollars, and a few five thousand dollars or more. Two members of the Board of Directors have already pledged five thousand dollars each and one a thousand, and other smaller sums are already being subscribed.

Beyond the actual membership of the Society there are thousands of men and women, deeply interested in the movement for the permanent establishment of peace among the nations, who will be glad of this opportunity to do something generous and effective for the movement which they have so much at heart and often wish they could aid. The amount asked for, for this headquarters, is but a mere bagatelle compared with the incredible sums yearly put into national armaments, even in our own country. It is only one-eightieth as much as it now costs to build a single first-class battleship, and several times less than the cost of maintaining the vessel for a single year.

The whole amount asked ought to be raised in a very short time. We confidently appeal to our friends everywhere to send in their pledges promptly, that the Society may be placed in a position to meet in an adequate way the enlarged responsibilities which the immense progress of the movement has laid upon it. The time has come for the friends of peace to do great thing if they expect speedily to overthrow the great evil whose existence they bemoan.

In sending pledges copy and sign the form of subscription given at the end of the appeal. If cash contributions are sent, make checks or money orders payable to the American Peace Society.

Brevities.

. . . At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society held on May 23, Edwin D. Mead, Lucia Ames Mead, Miss Anna B. Eckstein, Joshua L. Baily, Mrs. Mary Taber Tatum, Mrs. Annie S. Churchill, Miss Natalie Kirsch, Benjamin F. Trueblood and Miss Florence E. Trueblood were chosen delegates to the Peace Congress at Lucerne, which opens on the 19th of September. Since that time Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Ginn, who have decided to go abroad for the summer, have also been appointed delegates. The President and Secretary were authorized to select other delegates and will be glad to learn of any other members of the Society who expect to be in Europe at the time of the Congress.

. . . No greater speech has recently been delivered in any national parliament than that of Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant in the French Senate on April 11 on the question of reduction of armaments. We have translated and given our readers the first half of the speech in this issue and shall publish the remainder next month.

. . . At both the schools for colored people in Alabama, Tuskegee and Snow Hill, prizes were offered this year for the best paper on peace. The prize at Tuskegee was won by Walter Benjamin Scott of Kingston, Jamaica, the subject being "Charles Sumner, an Advocate of Peace." At Snow Hill the prize was awarded at commencement to Lettie P. Rivers of Snow Hill, Ala. Dr. Washington writes from Tuskegee that the prize stimulated a great deal of extra effort on the part of the students. At Snow Hill there were four speakers, all of whom declared that war ought to be abolished. These prizes, we believe, are offered by Miss Ellen Collins, of New York, and are to be continued hereafter.

. . . A meeting to quicken the interest of the German speaking people of Boston in the international peace movement was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Post, 218 West Springfield Street, Boston, on Sabbath afternoon, May 21. The speakers were Benjamin F. Trueblood, Miss Anna B. Eckstein and Mrs. Post. As a result of the meeting a number of Germans gave their names as subscribers to the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, and some of them will become members of the American Peace Society.

. . . As we go to press the Eleventh Annual Conference on International Arbitration at Mohonk Lake is in session. More than three hundred persons are in attendance, among whom are many distinguished public men as well as private citizens. We shall give in the next ADVOCATE an account of the proceedings.

. . . The first public meeting of the Women's Peace Circle of New York City, held in the Madison Square Theatre on the 18th of May, was a most interesting occasion. Addresses were made to a crowded house by the president, Mrs. Harry Hastings, by the founder of the Circle, Mrs. Arnold Schramm, by Dr. Ernst Richard of Columbia University, president of the New York German-American Peace Society, Miss Mary Pierson, and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer. Hon. Oscar S. Straus, who was kept away by illness, in sending his regrets, wrote: "It would give me much pleasure to aid in making propaganda for the humane cause of the world's peace among the peace-loving women, who have the highest and first right to demand that their appeals shall be heard above the barbaric clatter of martial drums that lead to unrighteous war."

. . . The Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, Hon. George H. Martin, writes that, from newspaper clippings received at his office, he infers that the 18th of May was quite generally observed in the schools of the State.

. . . The long-expected naval battle in the Far East has taken place, and from the reports that are coming in it seems to have furnished horrors enough to satisfy the most sanguinary imagination.

Seventy-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society.

The Seventy-seventh Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society was held in the Society's office, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, May 18, 1905, at 2 o'clock.

President Paine presided.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Charles H. Watson of Arlington, Mass.

The records of the Annual Meeting last year were read and approved.

The Secretary reported that all of the persons chosen to official positions last year had accepted their appointment.

The President appointed Rev. S. C. Bushnell, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Mr. Everett O. Fisk and Hon. L. H. Pillsbury, a Nominating Committee to propose the names of officers for the coming year.

The Report of the Treasurer, properly audited, was then read, approved and ordered to be placed on file. The Report showed that the receipts during the year from all sources had been $6,342.34, and that the expenses had been $6,462.43, making an excess of expenses over receipts of $120.09. The Report also showed a balance in the treasury remaining over from previous years of $2,128.36.

On motion of Edwin D. Mead, seconded by Everett O. Fisk and others, it was unanimously voted that the Secretary's salary be increased five hundred dollars.

The committee to nominate officers reported the names of persons to serve as President, General Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, Vice-Presidents and Board of Directors. The names were approved and the persons elected to the several positions. (The list of these is found on page 138).

On motion of Benjamin F. Trueblood, Dr. Booker T. Washington, of the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, was unanimously chosen a Vice-President; and on motion of Edwin D. Mead, Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell of New York was also made a Vice-President.

Of the Board of Directors elected, Mr. Bliss Perry, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Raymond L. Bridgman and Miss Anna B. Eckstein were new.

The Annual Report of the Board of Directors was then presented by Secretary Trueblood. The Report dwelt at length on the various lines of arbitration and peace work carried on during the year by the Society and kindred organizations in this and other countries. It referred to the conflict in the Far East and the difficulties and obstacles still to be overcome, and closed with the declaration that the cause had made unusual progress during the year and that the outlook for its complete triumph was never before so encouraging as now. After discussion by several members the Report was approved and ordered to be printed in the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. (The Report is given in full in this issue.)

The Secretary presented a letter from Miss Sarah J. Eddy of Rhode Island, touching the matter of textbooks of history in the public schools. A committee of three was appointed to investigate the matter and report as early as convenient to the Board of Directors.

A resolution was then introduced which had been forwarded by the peace workers of Springfield, Massachusetts, suggesting that the Society recommend to the coming Hague Conference that the 18th of May be set apart as an international holiday. After discussion during which the proposition awakened much interest

the subject was referred to the Board of Directors for further consideration.

On the recommendation of the Board of Directors, Article 2 of the Constitution was changed to read as follows: "This Society, being founded on the principle that war is contrary to the spirit of Christianity and of all true religion and morality, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with this spirit, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace."

Article 3 was likewise changed to read as follows: "All persons desirous of promoting peace on earth and good-will towards men may become members of this Society."

Articles 4 and 5 were likewise changed and combined into one Article, as follows: "Every annual member of the Society shall pay a yearly contribution of two dollars; the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time shall constitute any person a life member." In Article 8 the word "less" was changed to "more."

The project of securing a building to serve as a permanent headquarters of the Society's work and to furnish an increased income from rentals, recommended in the Report of the Directors, was then taken up. It was voted that the Society expresses its deepest interest in the proposal, heartily approves of the action of the Directors, and that all the members pledge their earnest coöperation in carrying the scheme to successful accomplishment.

The Secretary reported that twenty-one life members and one hundred and eighty-two annual members had been added to the Society during the year, a total of two hundred and three new members.

ANNUAL DINNER.

In the evening at 6.30 o'clock occurred the Annual Dinner of the Society at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club. More than eighty guests sat down to the tables, which were beautifully decorated with flowers. At the speaking after the dinner the President, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, presided. Addresses were given by Ex-Governor John L. Bates; Hon. George H. Martin, Secretary of the State Board of Education; Mr. Charles E. Adams, President of the State Board of Trade; Mr. Elwyn G. Preston, Secretary of the Boston Chamber of Commerce; and Rev. Francis H. Rowley, D. D., pastor of the First Baptist Church, Boston. (These addresses are given in full in this issue.)

Letters were read from Hon. John W. Foster and from Dr. Edward Everett Hale, both of whom had been invited to be present.

Secretary Trueblood presented briefly the plan of the Board of Directors, which had been approved at the Annual Meeting in the afternoon, to raise funds for securing a permanent headquarters of the Society. He announced that a legacy of ten thousand dollars recently received would be devoted to this purpose and that two members of the Society had pledged five thousand dollars each, making twenty thousand dollars already in sight towards the one hundred thousand dollars to be raised. The announcement was received by the guests with great interest and enthusiasm.

Seventy-Seventh Annual Report of the Directors of the American Peace Society.

Mr. President and Members of the American Peace Society:

We respectfully submit herewith the Seventy-seventh Annual Report of the work of the American Peace Society. In spite of the continuance of the deplorable war in the Far East the cause of international arbitration and peace has during the year, through the labors of this and many other organizations working for the same end, made most encouraging progress, both in the development of public sentiment and in the enlargement and strengthening of the practical means of maintaining peace among the nations.

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Our Board has held its regular meetings once every two months as heretofore. The meetings have been for the most part well attended. The important events of the year related to our movement have been carefully considered, and such action taken in reference thereto as has seemed to us best fitted to promote in a practical way the principles for which the Society stands. We have given careful attention to the regular lines of work carried on through our office and our different publications. The details given in subsequent parts of this report will show that the year has been one of the best and most encouraging in our history.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

We have continued to issue our monthly publications, the ADVOCATE OF PEACE and the ANGEL OF PEACE. The edition of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE is now five hundred copies larger than it was a year ago, and the indications are that the edition will soon have to be enlarged again. No effort has been spared by the management to keep the paper a fresh, up-to-date and worthy organ of the international arbitration and peace movement. Partly through the influence of the Peace Congress held here in October last, and partly through the increased interest in the cause, several hundred new subscribers have been added to our list within the year. College and university reading-rooms, theological schools, Young Men's Christian Association reading-rooms, public libraries, etc., have as heretofore been furnished with the ADVOCATE gratuitously. Generous contributions to aid in the circulation of the paper have been received from a number of our friends, and interested persons in several parts of the United States have done much to promote the increased circulation. Many evidences have come to our office of the high appreciation of our journal as a

most useful and reliable organ of the movement. We urge our friends everywhere to continue their efforts to increase the circulation and influence of the paper.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The call for books, pamphlets and leaflets treating of the various phases of the question of peace and war has been much larger the past year than heretofore. We have during the year added to our list of publications a number of new pamphlets and leaflets, and revised editions of old ones, the more important of which are:

Tolstoy's "Letter on the Russo-Japanese War" (7,000); "A Primer of the Peace Movement," consisting of a reprint of the Society's card display exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition (12,000); "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War," a reprint of Noah Worcester's famous publication (2,500); "Women and War," a four-page leaflet (2,000); "International Arbitration at the Opening of the Twentieth Century" (2,000); "The Christ of the Andes," an eight-page illustrated leaflet (6,000); a new edition of Crosby's "Absurdities of Militarism" (2,000); new editions of "Washington's Antimilitarism" and Hotchkiss's "Coals of Fire" (5,000 each). New editions of other pamphlets are just now going through the press, to meet the increased demand.

Dymond's "Essay on War," Sumner's "Addresses on War," "Channing's "Discourses on War," Bloch's "Future of War," Baroness Von Suttner's "Lay Down Your Arms," F. W. Holls' "The Peace Conference at The Hague," Dr. W. E. Darby's "International Tribunals," John W. Foster's "Arbitration and the Hague Court," and B. F. Trueblood's "Federation of the World," have all been kept on sale at our office, and a much larger number than usual of most of them disposed of. The official report of the Thirteenth International Peace Congress was edited and printed under the care of our Secretary, and an edition of eight thousand copies published, nearly the whole of which has now been distributed. The increased interest in the peace movement in the colleges and schools of the country has made an unusual demand upon our office, which we have endeavored to meet as fully as our resources would permit. No phase of our work has been more inspiring and encouraging than that of aiding the intelligent young men and women of the country in their study of this greatest reform movement before the public to-day.

PUBLIC WORK.

Our public work has been similar to that of former years. Our Secretary, in addition to carrying on the greatly increased work of the office, has addressed many clubs, ministers' conferences, women's organizations, public meetings, etc., in different parts of the country. Other members of the Board and of the Society have also done a much larger amount of effective work in this direction than in previous years, the labors of Lucia Ames Mead, a member of our Board, having been widely extended and most influential. The increased interest in the cause brought about through the Boston Peace Congress, the St. Louis Interparliamentary Conference and other prominent events have rendered this public service very effective, both in arousing and in the organization of public sentiment. Our Board not only took a leading part in the organization and work of the Thirteenth International Peace Congress, but has been represented at the Mononk Arbitration Conference and other important gatherings.

THE SOCIETY'S EXHIBIT AT ST. LOUIS.

The card display exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition, alluded to in our last Annual Report, was successful. The literature accompanying the exhibit was all distributed. The matter printed on the cards was copied by a considerable number of visitors. It has since been prepared by Mrs. Mead for publication and printed under the title "A Primer of the Peace Movement." The demand for this Primer has been and still is very large, some twelve thousand copies having already been disposed of. At the request of the Massachusetts section of the Department of Social Economy, the card exhibit has been sent to Portland, Oregon, where it will do duty in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition.

THE THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS.

The Thirteenth International Peace Congress held in Boston in October last was a great and memorable success. It was attended by more than a thousand delegates and adherents, and it was estimated that the total number of persons present at one or more of the sessions amounted to from six to ten thousand. Our Society was represented by twenty-eight delegates, and furnished both the President and Secretary of the Congress and the Chairman of the Committee on Organization. The total number of organizations represented in the Congress was one hundred and sixty-eight, fifty-seven of which were from the countries of Europe.

The most conspicuous feature of the Congress was the welcome to the delegates on behalf of the United States government by the distinguished Secretary of State, John Hay. This event marked an epoch in the history of the cause. It finally brought the whole peace movement into vital connection with the responsible authorities of government, and secured official, governmental recognition of the soundness of its principles and the justice of its claims.

The meetings organized immediately after the Congress in New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Toronto, Pittsburg and other cities, more than forty of them in all, were no less successful than the sessions of the Congress. One of their most noteworthy results has been the organization of a German-American Peace Society in New York, an Arbitration and Peace Society in Cincinnati, one in Pittsburg, and a Canadian Arbitration and Peace Society in Toronto, for the whole Dominion of Canada. The New York German-American Society and the Cincinnati Society were both organized as auxiliaries of the American Peace Society and have been most active and influential since their establishment.

The official report of the Congress, including a brief account of the subsequent meetings and also a concise history of all the former peace congresses, has been edited and published under the care of our Secretary, and most of the entire edition of eight thousand copies has already been distributed. Edwin D. Mead, a Vice-President of our Society, and our Secretary were the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Organization. Their long-continued, laborious efforts in organizing and conducting the Congress are so well known and appreciated as to need no extended comment. The appeal of the Organizing Committee for funds was

generously responded to by the citizens of Boston, New York and other cities, and the nearly twenty thousand dollars placed at the disposal of the Committee made it possible for the Congress to be organized on a broader and more generous basis than had been the case with previous congresses. Great credit for the eminent success of the Congress was due to the hospitable spirit of the Governor of the State, the Mayor of Boston and the citizens of Boston and vicinity.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE AT ST. LOUIS.

The Twelfth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union was held at St. Louis in September last. This was in many respects the most noteworthy meeting ever held by the Union. As a result of the organization of a Group of the Union in the United States Congress, the delegates came to this country as the guests of the government, an official invitation having been extended by both the President and Congress. They were entertained at the expense of the nation, fifty thousand dollars having been appropriated by Congress for this purpose. The Interparliamentary party was attended in its trip by a member of the State Department, and also by a member of the Treasury Department. The sessions of the Conference lasted for three days. The address of welcome was made by Hon. Francis B. Loomis, First Assistant Secretary of State. Hon. Richard Bartholdt, member of Congress from Missouri, the organizer of the American Arbitration Group, was chosen President of the Union for the year. Mr. Bartholdt's eminent services in connection with the organization and successful holding of the St. Louis Conference has placed him in the front rank of the leaders of the international peace movement.

The chief result of the conference, which was given a most generous reception by the managers of the Exposition and the citizens of St. Louis, was the adoption of a resolution calling for a new international conference to continue the work inaugurated at The Hague in 1899. This resolution was presented to President Roosevelt by the delegates in a body. The President expressed himself as in entire sympathy with the purposes of the Union, and soon after fulfilled his promise to the delegates to issue a call to the nations for a second International Conference at The Hague. This conference is temporarily delayed by the continuance of the Russo-Japanese War, but will be organized as soon as the war closes. The nations have all given a favorable response to the invitation of the President. This conference gives promise of being even more influential in the completion of the organization of peace throughout the world than was the first Hague Conference. According to the proposals of the American Group of the Union, the three leading subjects which will be put upon the program will be that of a simultaneous and proportionate reduction of armaments, a general treaty of obligatory arbitration between all the powers, and the creation of a regular congress of the nations to meet at stated periods for the discussion of international questions. The Interparliamentary Conference at St. Louis has clearly advanced the whole movement for world-peace a long stage.

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION.

The International Law Association, now more than thirty years old, has held no conference during the past year. Its executive council has however been actively engaged in promoting the development and improvement of international law, for which the Association exists. They have announced that the Twenty-second Conference of the Association will be held at Christiania, Norway, the first week in September.

THE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

The conference on international arbitration held at Lake Mohonk the first week in June last was the largest and most influential ever held under Mr. Smiley's generous hospitality. It was presided over by Hon. George Gray, one of the United States members of the Hague Court. The proceedings of the conference were widely reported in the daily press, and received marked attention throughout the country and at Washington.

The growth of the Mohonk Conference, both in numbers and in influence, is an encouraging evidence of the widening and deepening of interest among all classes of American citizens in the movement for the substitution of pacific methods for war in the maintenance and promotion of justice and right among the nations.

Several members of our Board of Directors and of the Society participated as usual in the deliberations of the conference, both in the discussions and in the work of the business committee.

A large number of invitations have been sent out by Mr. Smiley for the Eleventh Conference at Mohonk, which will be held on the last day of this month and the first two days of June.

THE NATIONAL ARBITRATION COMMITTEE.

The National Arbitration Committee created at Washington in 1896, and reappointed at the second Washington Conference in January last year, has continued its efficient services under the wise and able leadership of its chairman, Hon. John W. Foster. On its initiative influential public meetings in the cities, many of them organized by the leading business bodies, were held in support of the arbitration treaties signed in November and December by the Secretary of State.

NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESSES.

In our last annual report attention was called to the organization of National Peace Congresses in various countries of Europe. The French Congress of the past year at Toulouse was attended by about six hundred delegates, coming from all parts of France, more than ten times the number which had attended the congress of the previous year at Nîmes. The congress of the British Peace Societies, held in Manchester in June last, the first national congress organized in Great Britain, was also eminently successful, and will be followed by a similar congress in June this year. Similar successful national meetings have been held in Germany, Italy, Norway and in one or two other countries.

THE MYSTIC PEACE CONVENTION.

The peace convention which meets annually in the peace grove at Mystic, Conn., under the auspices of the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia, was held as usual for four days in August last, and brought together large numbers of people from the surrounding country. The convention was addressed by speakers representing many different phases of the peace idea, and strong

resolutions were adopted in support of pacific principles and methods, both among individuals and nations.

THE WORK OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES.

The power and influence of the peace societies as a body throughout the civilized world have continued to develop during the year. They have maintained and enlarged their propaganda in behalf of general arbitration and friendly relations among the nations. They have much increased their local constituencies and their influence with the various national legislatures and governments. Undiscouraged by their efforts to prevent the conflict between Russia and Japan and afterwards to bring the war to a speedy close, they have still, both directly and through the International Peace Bureau, from time to time reiterated their protests against the continuance of the awful desolations caused by the war, and pleaded with the powers signatory of the Hague Convention to make a united effort to put an end to the conflict by means of friendly mediation. In several countries they have secured hundreds of thousands of signatures to a general popular petition to the belligerent powers to cease hostilities. They have so far been unsuccessful in their attempts to reëstablish peace. But they have been heard and felt. Never have they shown so fully their confidence in the essential justice and rightness of their cause.

Several new societies have been organized during the year, not only in this country as the result of the Peace Congress, but in different countries of Europe through the faithful labors, in the lecture field and through the press, of the men and women who are the leaders there. There are now nearly five hundred societies, including branch organizations. We are happy to say that the disregard and even contempt in which the peace societies were formerly held have nearly entirely passed away, and that the principles for which they have stood are now not only generally respected, but even openly advocated by statesmen and government leaders. This is a triumph for which the American Peace Society, whose early labors met with their full share of disrespect and even scorn, is profoundly grateful.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU.

The Intereational Peace Bureau at Berne, Switzerland, has continued its able and efficient service in keeping the peace societies in touch with one another, in carrying out the resolutions of the Peace Congress, and in general in keeping before the governments of the world the ideals of the friends of peace and the great responsibilities which in the present state of the development of the world rest upon all the leaders of national policies. The Bureau has published as heretofore, under the editorship of its efficient Secretary, Mr. Elie Ducommun, its semi-monthly Correspondence (*Correspondance Bimensuelle*) through which the details of the peace movement are communicated to the various societies.

THE PEACE DEPARTMENT OF THE W. C. T. U. AND OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

We need only repeat what was said in the Annual Report of last year about the eminent services to the cause of international peace, contributed by the Peace Department of the W. C. T. U., and the Arbitration and Peace Committee of the National Council of Women. These organizations, with similar ones in other countries, are slowly but thoroughly undermining in the homes, among women and children, the false ideas of patriotism and national honor and glory, which have constituted one of the strongest supports of the war system during the past centuries.

AUXILIARIES OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

Our Society has now six auxiliaries: the Chicago Peace Society, the Minnesota Peace Society, the Kansas State Peace Society, the New York German-American Peace Society, the Arbitration and Peace Society of Cincinnati and the Women's Peace Circle of New York. The last of these has just been organized, as a fruit of Mrs. Mead's work in New York, and is holding its first public meeting to-day in the Madison Square Theatre. The Minnesota Peace Society has sent us no report. The Chicago Society has done a good deal of valuable work in the distribution of literature and in holding public meetings. A great meeting of three thousand was held under its auspices on the 30th of October in the Sinai Temple, as one of the series following the Peace Congress, and another in January at Hull House. It has placed the ADVOCATE OF PEACE in the branches of the Chicago Public Library and distributed besides other literature five hundred copies of Mrs. Mead's "Primer of the Peace Movement" to principals and superintendents of schools, clergymen and others. The Kansas State Peace Society with headquarters at Wichita has been very active. Besides holding two public meetings, it has begun the creation of a peace library for the use of its members and others. It has also secured a considerable number of subscribers to the ADVOCATE OF PEACE in different parts of Kansas. The New York German-American Society, organized soon after the Peace Congress meetings, with Dr. Ernst Richard of Columbia University as president, is carrying on a vigorous propaganda among the German-speaking people of New York and vicinity, which it hopes to extend as far as possible to Germans elsewhere. It has now seventy-five members, all of whom are furnished with the ADVOCATE OF PEACE at the expense of their general treasury.

Of all these new societies the one at Cincinnati is the largest and most strenuous. It was organized the day following the great meeting in October, which was addressed by the Baroness Von Suttner and others. Its membership has already reached nearly two hundred. Professor P. V. N. Myers, the historian, is its president. Its Executive Committee and list of thirty vice-presidents include some of the foremost men and women of the city. The Society secured the endorsement of the arbitration treaties, when they were before the Senate, by seven religious and commercial bodies, including the Ohio State Board of Trade. It has held several public meetings, is now engaged in securing signatures to petitions in favor of arbitration and of peace in the East, is celebrating this 18th of May by a great public meeting in which the schools will be represented by a deputation of one hundred girls, has placed literature for the day's exercises in the hands of the school principals, and will send two delegates to the Peace Congress at Lucerne.

The first steps have likewise been taken toward the organization of an auxiliary in Cleveland, Ohio, with Dr. Charles F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve University, as president.

PEACE DAYS.

The Sunday before Christmas, the 22d of February and the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the Hague Conference, are now regularly observed as peace days to a greater or less extent by the peace societies and other organizations. The 18th of May, the day on which we are meeting, is being celebrated this year much more widely than ever before. It is observed for the first time by the Chautauqua Circles all over the land, and they are to keep it regularly hereafter. The W. C. T. U. and the local councils of the National Council of Women are also widely observing it. So are many other organizations including some of the patriotic societies. It seems certain therefore to become the general international peace day for the world.

ARBITRATION AND PEACE WORK IN THE SCHOOLS.

A most encouraging feature of the observance of this 18th of May is the large share being taken in it for the first time by the schools of our country. The Massachusetts State Board of Education issued in April, through its secretary, Hon. George H. Martin, a letter to all school superintendents of the state, suggesting the observance of the day by proper exercises, and outlining the kind of a program which might be employed. The request of the State Board was promptly taken up by a large number of superintendents, and for the first time in their history the Massachusetts schools have openly associated themselves with the international peace movement.

In Ohio a program for the celebration of the day was arranged, in consultation with our office, by the *Ohio School Journal* of Columbus, and the State Commissioner of Education for that State also sent a letter to the superintendents of schools similar to that of Secretary Martin of Masssachusetts. What has to-day happened in the schools of our Commonwealth has also taken place in parts of this great State of the Middle West. No other States, so far as we know, have in this general way taken up the subject, but in many of the cities and towns of other States single schools have observed the day, the Superintendent of Schools for Greater New York having arranged for its observance in all the schools under his charge.

We know of no more encouraging feature of the progress of the movement than that the public schools should thus have begun actively to associate themselves with it in this country as they have already done in one or two of the European States, notably France. The writers of histories for schools have also begun to ally themselves with the new conceptions of the proper relations of nations to each other, as witness the chapter on "The International State" in the recent revised edition of Professor P. V. N. Myers' Mediæval and Modern History.

THE BLOCH MUSEUM AT LUCERNE.

The second annual report of the committee having charge of the Bloch Museum at Lucerne, Switzerland, has recently been published. The committee has expended during the year something over $3,500 for the increase of articles in the Museum, for publications in furtherance of the studies inaugurated by Mr. Bloch, and as subventions to a few groups of peace societies. The peace department of the Museum has been steadily added to, and it is hoped that at an early day this may be so expanded and developed as properly to carry out the wish of the founder.

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1904, amounting to nearly $40,000, was awarded on the tenth day of December to the Institute of International Law. This Institute consists of a small body of specialists devoted to the scientific study and exposition of the principles of international law. It was founded about thirty years ago, and has done its work in a quiet way and has not been much known to the general public or even to the circles of the peace workers.

THE WORK OF THE HAGUE COURT.

No case has been decided by the Hague Court during the past year. The Japanese House Tax case, submitted to it nearly two years ago, has been under consideration the past winter by a tribunal of three members selected from the body of the Court. The consideration of the contentions of the two parties to the dispute, Japan on the one side, and Great Britain, Germany and France on the other, has been practically completed, and a decision is expected at any moment. Under the provisions of the general agreement made between them last year, Great Britain and France have also submitted to the Court the question of the French protectorate over the Sultan of Muscat.

The site for the Carnegie Palace of Peace at The Hague, in which the Court with its library is hereafter to be lodged, has been selected by the Netherlands government, and the question of the design for the building has been submitted to the competition of the architects of all nations — an act of international fraternity of very large significance.

THE NORTH SEA TRAWLER INCIDENT.

Among the pacific settlements of the year, that of the Dogger Bank trawling affair between Great Britain and Russia has taken foremost place. The firing of the Russian Baltic fleet upon British fishing vessels, with the consequent loss of life and the destruction of boats, caused for a brief period intense feeling between the British and the Russians, and but for the existence of the various provisions of the Hague Convention would most probably have resulted in a disastrous war. The two governments, however, to their everlasting honor, remained calm and self-possessed during the excitement, and on the suggestion of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Delcassé, they proceeded to make use of an important provision of the Hague Convention theretofore dormant, and created a Commission of Inquiry to determine the facts of the case. This immediately put an end to the clamor for war. The Commission, after a thorough investigation into the facts, made a report that was accepted by both governments. The claims thereupon presented by Great Britain were promptly paid by Russia, and the ugly incident closed. This event makes still more clear the immense progress which the principles of peace have made in international relations, and the remarkable wisdom and foresight of the distinguished statesmen who constituted the Hague Conference, and drew up the memorable convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

ARBITRATIONS OUTSIDE OF THE HAGUE COURT.

The settlement of cases outside of the Hague Court by

special arbitrators and commissions has continued during the year, though no cases of any great importance have been thus disposed of. The principal ones are the following: The French-Venezuelan claims case; the boundary question between Costa Rica and the new republic of Panama; the question of the indemnity claims of the Newfoundland French fishermen; the Reid-Newfoundland Company claims case; a question of the boundary between Ecuador and Peru; the Barotseland boundary controversy between Great Britain and Portugal; the British-Brazilian Guiana boundary dispute; the Swedish-Norwegian sea-frontier question; the British-Russian seal fisheries dispute (originally submitted to arbitration, but finally settled by compromise); the Kantao Island case between China and Korea; the Venezuelan-Italian claims case; a question of disputed boundaries between Brazil and Peru; the San Domingo Improvement Company case; and the Ecuador-Colombian boundary dispute. Some of these cases have come over from former years and some of them are not yet completed.

THE TREATIES OF OBLIGATORY ARBITRATION.

The year has been specially marked by the great increase in the number of treaties of obligatory arbitration signed by the civilized governments. The list has grown to thirty. Nearly half of these have been ratified and are now in force. Several more of the treaties will probably be completed within a short time. The whole of Western Europe is thus bound together in entirely new relations, in the veritable bonds of peace. The eight treaties signed by Secretary Hay with Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden, and Japan have unfortunately failed to go into effect because of the conflict between the Senate and the President as to their respective powers and prerogatives under the Constitution. We cannot attempt here to decide the question as to the responsibility for their failure, equally able and good friends of the cause taking opposite views of the matter. It can be confidently asserted, however, that the cause of arbitration was never so strong in our nation as it is to-day. These treaties had the almost universal support of the people, of the great commercial, religious and other bodies of the land, as well as of the President and the Secretary of State. Their support by public men in general, including members of both Houses of Congress, was very pronounced. In spite of the fact that our country has seemingly fallen behind in the march, it is clear that the United States has in no wise lost its wide and deep interest in the great movement of which it has so long been the leader. It is expected that through the influence of the American Interparliamentary Group, now numbering two hundred members, the subject of a general treaty of obligatory arbitration among all the powers of the world, specifying definite kinds of controversies to be submitted to the Hague International Court, will occupy a prominent if not the foremost place on the program of the new conference at The Hague. A delegation of about twenty-five members of the United States Congress will attend the Interparliamentary Conference at Brussels in September, prepared to recommend through that body the adoption of such a general arbitration treaty by the next Hague Conference. So that, after all, the apparent set-back to arbitration given by the action of the Senate may result in the conclusion of a much more important general convention among the nations.

THE PAN-AMERICAN TREATIES.

The treaty drawn at the Pan-American Conference more than three years ago for the submission to arbitration of all questions of claims between the American republics has now been ratified by practically all of the governments represented in the Conference. So far as we know, no further progress has been made toward the admission of the American states as parties to the Hague Convention, as proposed in the most important of the Mexican protocols.

THE STATED INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

The practical project of a Congress of the Nations to meet at stated periods to study and make suggestions on questions of general international interest, inaugurated by our Board and others in January, 1903, has received much new support from important sources during the year. It was unanimously approved by the Tenth Mohonk Arbitration Conference. It also received the unanimous support of the Interparliamentary Conference at St. Louis, and was incorporated into the resolution adopted by that body as one of the subjects which ought to be considered at the forthcoming conference at The Hague. The Peace Congress held at Boston in October last likewise heartily and unanimously endorsed the proposition. Further support was given to it by the action of the American Interparliamentary Group at its meeting immediately after the close of Congress on the 4th of March last. This Group, as already stated, instructed its delegation to the Conference at Brussels to recommend through that body that the subject be placed upon the order of the day of the new conference which President Roosevelt has called. Congress adjourned, we regret to say, without taking any definite action on the recommendation of the Massachusetts Legislature, which had been presented to it in November, 1903. But the great progress during the year of the idea of a regular international advisory congress justifies us in believing that this next great step forward in the realization of permanent organized peace among the nations will be taken at an early day. We recommend to all the members of the American Peace Society to give prominent attention to this important subject in all their work, for the only sure ground for the permanent peace of the world is the complete organization of the nations in some form of political federation.

NEUTRALIZATION.

One of the important steps taken during the year toward the further restriction of war and the widening of the area consecrated to peace is the action of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade in proposing the neutralization of the great trade routes across the Atlantic. Their memorial on this subject has been sent to the national authorities at Washington, to the various commercial bodies of the United States and to many similar bodies of the countries of Western Europe. They fortify their proposal by instancing the neutralization of Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, the Suez Canal, and more particularly the waters of the great lakes between the United States and Canada. In asking for the creation of these neutral zones on the Atlantic, where ships of commerce of all nations may pass and repass unmolested in time of war as in time of peace, they are not proposing

something new and chimerical. They are only asking that the nations, in their separate and common interests, may extend to these great highways of the world's commerce the same principle which has already been successfully applied by them for nearly a hundred years. The proposed neutralization of these well determined and charted commercial zones on the high sea is perfectly simple and practicable, and it would contribute immensely to the undisturbed order and peace of the world. The proposal ought to meet with the unanimous approval of all business organizations and of all individuals who are interested in the welfare and progress of humanity.

ARMAMENTS.

There has been since our last report practically no change in the great armaments of the world, except that the navies of several of the great powers have continued to increase. None of the numerous and vigorous appeals made by the friends of peace in different countries for the arrest and reduction of the armaments have had any apparent effect. The rivalry still goes on, and the financial burdens caused thereby have grown steadily heavier upon the peoples. A strong effort was made in Congress at its recent session to prevent the further increase of the United States navy. But this effort, though developing much greater strength than any previous one, finally failed. The uselessness and folly of the enormous increase of the navy of a country situated as the United States is, are recognized and felt more deeply than ever before, and there is some real hope that another year may see a reversal of the fatuous policy of a big navy which has in recent years dominated the political circles of the country, and threatened to transform our nation from its former condition into an aggressive military power after the Old World type. An effort made in the French Chamber of Deputies to induce the French government to take the initiative in calling a conference for the special consideration of this subject likewise failed. No government seems inclined to take the lead in trying to remedy this great evil, the further continuance of which they all dread and deprecate. It is now hoped that the whole subject will be given a leading place on the program of the coming conference at The Hague, for which the call has been issued by our government.

The urgency of the problem of reduction of armaments is increasingly felt by all thoughtful students of international affairs, including many government leaders in different countries. How soon the question will be practically taken up it is impossible to say. The great armaments have already maintained themselves and continued to increase much longer than years ago it was supposed they could. But their growing burdens and the increasing success of arbitration in the satisfactory and honorable settlement of international disputes make it inevitable that the problem of reduction, difficult and delicate as it is, must and will in the near future be seriously grappled with.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

It is painful to have to report that the sanguinary conflict in the Far East has gone on throughout the year. Tens of thousands of lives on both sides have been sacrificed in the fierce and deadly battles, and incredible sums of money consumed in meeting the expenses. Extraordinary efforts from many sources have been made to end the hostilities. Several governments have stood ready to offer mediation at the first sign of a favorable moment. Petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of influential citizens in several countries have been sent to the powers signatory of the Hague Convention, imploring them to make a joint effort to terminate the frightful struggle. On the fall of Port Arthur our President and Secretary sent a memorial to the Secretary of State urging that the United States government take the initiative in trying to secure united mediation by the powers. This memorial was most sympathetically received, but the government felt that the attitude of the belligerents towards any form of intervention made such a course at the time impracticable. All such attempts from whatever source have so far been in vain. The belligerents, carried forward by the passion of war, and determined to conquer at whatever cost of blood and treasure, have turned a deaf ear to all appeals of reason and humanity. As we submit this report, the great armies in Manchuria are facing each other and making ready to add another to the series of appalling slaughters which have already occurred, and the fleets of the two nations are daily expected to meet in such a frightful naval battle as has never yet been witnessed. The world waits in silence and dread and knows not what the end will be. Many are expressing the hope that this gigantic conflict, which has been so widely and deeply regretted, may prove to be the last of the big wars, and that its sad and costly lessons may even hasten the completion and universal adoption of an international system which will make any repetition of such a calamity hereafter impossible.

THE PEACE CONGRESS AT LUCERNE.

The Fourteenth International Peace Congress, as was decided at the Boston Congress last autumn, is to be held at Lucerne, Switzerland, beginning on the 19th of September. The great success of the Congress here has aroused extraordinary interest throughout Europe in the coming meeting there, and extensive preparations are being made to render the Lucerne Congress, if possible, more influential than any previous one has been. All the countries of Europe will be represented by strong delegations, and we are hoping that a large and influential delegation may go from the United States. The moment is a peculiarly important one in the history of the movement, and the meeting at Lucerne, in the very heart of Europe, ought to be made so commanding in influence as to compel the whole continent to listen to the voice of reason, and begin at once the pulling down of the gigantic militarism which has so long been a curse to all the European populations.

THE OUTLOOK.

It is not easy in the midst of the opposing tendencies and contradictory events of the time to strike a balance and determine in detail what may be expected in the days to come. But it seems clear from the foregoing summary of the events of the year that, notwithstanding the cruel tragedy in the East, and in spite of the persistence of the system of devouring militarism and other discouraging things, the cause of international amity and rational adjustment of differences has made long strides towards complete success. Arbitration is no longer an

experiment. Its practicability and usefulness are no longer questioned by any thoughtful person. The bond of fellowship and peace, created by the numerous arbitration treaties to which reference has been made, has placed a considerable section of the civilized world almost beyond the possibility of war in the future. Increased numbers of men and women in all lands have become open and uncompromising opponents of the whole war system. The numerous organizations which are working for the destruction of war are conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause as never before, and are incessantly pushing the battle to the very gates against this ancient folly of the race. Though a long and difficult task still awaits us, requiring supreme devotion and unremitting toil, there is no longer any reasonable doubt of the final triumph at no distant day of the principles for which the American Peace Society has contended for seventy-seven years. God is for us, and all the great upward movements of the race are coöperating with increased power to hasten the day when war shall no longer desolate any section of the globe.

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCES.

We are happy to report that as a result of the Boston Peace Congress and the general growth of interest in the peace cause the membership of the Society, in spite of the loss of valuable members, has materially increased during the year. More than two hundred new members have been added to our list. The Treasurer's report shows that the Permanent Peace Fund has paid into our treasury the sum of $2,500. The receipts from other sources have been larger than heretofore, and in spite of the increased outlays the treasury begins another year with a considerable balance.

A PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS AND A LARGER ENDOWMENT.

There is one other subject to which we call your serious attention. In view of the immense progress of the international peace movement in recent years and the commanding position which it now holds as the foremost cause before the world; in view also of the long and honorable career of the American Peace Society in initiating many of the important steps in the advancement of the movement, and of the great and growing demands pressing upon it for the years to come, our Board after careful consideration of the subject, and following a recommendation of the Thirteenth International Peace Congress, has concluded that the time has come for the Society to have a building of its own to serve as a permanent headquarters and centre of its work — a building which also, from rentals, will furnish a much-needed increase of income for the enlargement and strengthening of its propaganda. We have prepared, therefore, an appeal to the friends of the cause in Boston and elsewhere to furnish the means — one hundred thousand dollars or more — by which such a building may be secured at an early date. A copy of the appeal, giving the reasons on which it is based, is herewith submitted for your consideration. The Board hopes that its decision to take this step will meet with your unanimous and hearty endorsement.

With gratitude to God for his favor and blessing during the year, we respectfully submit this report.

On behalf of the Board of Directors,
BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, *Secretary.*

Letter from Hon. Richard Bartholdt.

ON BOARD STEAMER "KRONPRINZ,"
May 7, 1905.

The following letter from Hon. Richard Bartholdt, intended for the Annual Meeting, was not received till the next morning.

My dear Dr. Trueblood: I write these lines on the high sea to attest my presence at least in spirit at your Annual Meeting. My wish to comply with your kind invitation and address in person the Boston pioneers of our great movement failed of realization, as you know, because of the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union which is to be held at Brussels on May 15, and which I am obliged to attend in order that our American proposition may be included in the program for the next Interparliamentary Conference. To me it is somewhat comforting to know that in going abroad I am endeavoring to serve the same cause which would have impelled me to go to Boston, namely, that "sacred principle" Elihu Burritt spoke about, and which an inner voice tells me bears the indelible inscription, "In hoc signo vinces!"

By the time these lines reach Boston you will already have been advised by cable of the action of the Interparliamentary Council. Therefore I shall prefer, instead of discussing my European mission, to emphasize a point which has frequently occurred to me. To impress American statesmen it will be necessary to enlist the masses of our people in the peace movement, and in order to do so, peace societies after the pattern of your noble body should be organized all over the country, particularly in the larger cities. It should not be difficult to raise the means for such a purpose when nothing is required beyond the expenses for organizers, lecturers and literature. Our system of government rests on the franchise, and as soon as that is being used in the interest of our cause, the American lawmaker will "nolens volens" be quickly converted to it, because his official existence, too, depends upon the votes of the people. A strong organization of the friends of arbitration and peace will not only afford support and encouragement to those in official life who are already with us, but will indeed have the effect of converting those who hitherto have shown indifference or contempt for our cause; for it is a most gratifying philosophical truth that the magnetism of a principle which is inherently right is irresistible to all well meaning men and women who happen to come within the range of its attractive force.

In this connection permit me to call attention to another fact. In contending for a new order of things in international society, it is not necessary to make enemies. In order to establish peace conditions it is not necessary to first destroy the engines of war, or even to antagonize the supporters of the present military system. As long as this system prevails it is not inconsistent with our principles to remain absolutely indifferent toward the maintenance or even an increase of armaments, for, without force or violence, our system will automatically take the place of the present one, and the first effect of it will be to relegate these armaments to the junk shop. The discoverer of electric light did not have to destroy the old-time oil lamps in order to introduce and make

room for his discovery — the new light simply displaced the old lamps and made them unnecessary. In the same manner will the general adoption of a system of arbitration based upon a code of international law to be enacted by a Congress of Nations and administered by an International Supreme Court displace the system of force and violence which now obtains in international relations. For the same reason it is not incumbent upon the friends of arbitration to meddle with cases of actual war. Even if they bring about peace, it would not be the peace we strive for, but merely an armistice; but if their efforts at pacification fail, such failure always injures our cause.

In conclusion, permit me to congratulate you and the members of the Boston Peace Society upon the noble work in which they are engaged, upon the great success of last year's Peace Congress, and upon the encouragement your society is giving to the cause of peace and the friends of that cause everywhere.

Hoping that it may be my good fortune to be with you on some future occasion, I remain

Yours very truly,

RICHARD BARTHOLDT.

Appeal for Funds for a Building to Serve as a Permanent Headquarters of the American Peace Society.

The Directors of the American Peace Society hereby earnestly appeal to the friends of international arbitration and peace in America for funds with which to procure a building to serve as a permanent and worthy headquarters of the Society's work, and to furnish, from rentals, a much needed increase of income.

The cause of international arbitration and peace has now become the greatest and most commanding reform before the world. But not a single one of the societies which have sustained and developed the movement to its present commanding position has yet been able to have a building of its own. This great lack should no longer be allowed to exist.

The International Peace Congress held in Boston in October last passed a resolution strongly urging the creation and adequate endowment of centres of peace propaganda in a number of the leading cities of the world. Boston, which has always been foremost in America in the promotion of the cause, should clearly be the first city to have such an adequately equipped and endowed centre.

The American Peace Society, which has been located in Boston since 1837, represents the oldest peace movement in the world, the earliest of the societies from which it was organized in 1828 having been established in 1815.

It has now a rapidly growing list of members in all parts of the nation.

It has published an official organ of its work and of the movement in general continuously from the date of its organization.

It has published and distributed many millions of pages of peace literature.

It has initiated many of the important steps which have been taken for the organization of peace among the nations.

One of the chief phases of its early work was the advocacy of a High Court and Congress of Nations.

It has always pleaded for the permanent adoption of the principle of arbitration as a substitute for war in dealing with international controversies.

It was the first society to urge the holding of International Peace Congresses.

Its memorials to the Congress of the United States have been followed by the passing of influential resolutions by that body.

It was on the initiative of the Society that the International Law Association was formed more than thirty years ago.

It was the first to propose the holding of a Pan-American Conference for the promotion of arbitration and better commercial relations among the republics of the Western Hemisphere.

Fifty years ago, through its president, Judge William Jay, it proposed the insertion of arbitral clauses in treaties of commerce.

It gave its immediate and unqualified support to the proposal of the Czar of Russia for the holding of the Conference at The Hague which led to the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration; and since the Court was set up, it has used its utmost influence to bring the tribunal into speedy operation, and to make it, in fact, a World Tribunal.

The Resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature unanimously adopted in February, 1903, inviting Congress to authorize the President to take steps toward the creation of a Regular Advisory Congress of the Nations to meet at stated periods, was proposed by the Society.

What the Society has done in the past and is still doing, and the interests of the great cause which it represents, make it fitting that it should possess a building of its own, which would furnish not only a conspicuous and influential headquarters, but also a largely increased income, from rentals, for the strengthening and extension of its work according to the demands of the time. The increased income is now urgently needed.

It will require $100,000 or more to secure and equip such a headquarters as is here contemplated; and the Directors confidently appeal to the friends of the movement in Boston and throughout the nation to furnish them with the means to enable them to secure a building which will be not only an honor to the cause, but a powerful agency in its further promotion.

Subscription for Headquarters and Endowment of the American Peace Society.

We, the undersigned, promise to pay to the said Society the sums set against our names respectively,

One-half in the year 1905 One-half in the year 1906

provided by gifts, pledges and legacies $100,000 can be made up within two years from this date, April 24, 1905.

Addresses at the Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society, May 18.

Address of Charles E. Adams of Lowell, President of the State Board of Trade.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a pleasure to come into this peaceful atmosphere, freed from the commercial strife, the industrial warfare, and the professional contests incidental to everyday life. Being here necessarily stimulates a longing for those delightful conditions, you will remember, described by the author of "Daybreak," as existing upon the planet Mars, where the people had no trials nor tribulations, were not restricted by government, were one happy family, at peace with all the world outside, as well as with their own planet.

I presume you would not call it a piece of exaggeration if I should say that people on the planet Earth have not quite reached that altruistic state. Our ancestors had their Indian troubles, but they were bound to have peace, if they had to fight for it. I was recently reading an extract from the records of the old town of Chelmsford, Mass., as far back as 1671, where the selectmen ordered that every male person over fifteen years of age should bring to the meeting-house a club four or five feet in length, with a good large knob on the end, and leave the same at the meeting-house, for the purpose of preserving peace whenever the occasion required. I fear that this spirit has been inherited somewhat by their descendants, for we are creating armies and building battleships to use "whenever occasion requires!"

I am asked to say a few words to-night as to the work of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, which is composed of forty-six commercial bodies representing the industrial and commercial interests of the State, regarding this peace movement. The subject was most forcibly brought to their attention about two years ago by a visit from Dr. Thomas Barclay, former Chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, and his description of what the business men of France and England had done in securing a treaty between those two countries when every other interest had failed — government, politicians, and administrative officials. Representatives from the business organizations of those two countries met in Paris, to the number of about eight hundred, and they decided that an arbitration treaty should be agreed upon between the two governments. That convention dissolved, and those representatives of commercial bodies returned home, and in a very short time after the celebrated treaty between England and France was arranged, and to that convention, with its successful results, may be attributed much of the inspiration of our business men to-day, as it placed the matter before them in a practical light.

The Massachusetts Board of Trade had resolutions introduced into Congress asking that negotiations be reopened for treaties between the great countries of the United States and Great Britain, and hundreds of similar resolutions were presented from various parts of the country. The result you know, Mr. Chairman — not an absolute failure, but disappointment, we think, to the business men of the country, as well as to all others interested in the peace movement. But, as you suggested, it has been a step in the right direction; and we hope the powers that be will arrange something in that direction in the near future that will be satisfactory and greatly advance the cause.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, whom we all respect and admire, introduced a resolution which was unanimously carried through the State Board of Trade regarding neutral commercial zones on the Atlantic. It appears, in the judgment of the commercial and industrial interests of the State, that it would be wise if a treaty were arranged whereby neutral zones between the ports of North America, Great Britain and Ireland and the continent of Europe, should be established, and that within those zones steamships and sailing vessels should be permitted to pass and repass at all times without fear of seizure or interruption, whatever the existing condition might be between the nations of the world. No new principle was involved in the proposition, for in 1817 the same principle was applied on the Great Lakes and waterways down the St. Lawrence River to the ocean, between the United States and Canada. The result of that action seems to have proved one of great economy, for the treaty made possible that very little garrison work should be required by the two countries, thus saving an immense expense. The Suez Canal, in the in-

terests of trade and commerce, is also neutralized; military Europe has neutralized Switzerland, Belgium, and the Duchy of Luxemburg, so that this proposition, if carried out, will much advance the peace movement, as well as protect commercial intercourse, should war break out between nations.

It is pretty difficult to state just how far the business men of the country can assist this movement. It is recognized that commercial bodies as a rule are organized for the purpose of assisting trade and commerce more than they are for the consideration of sentimental propositions. But when the statistics are given, — and I have no doubt they are practically true, — that forty million lives were sacrificed and one hundred and fifty billions of dollars were expended in the engineering of warfare during the nineteenth century, it is no longer to be wondered at that the business community are beginning to awaken to the fact that this money should be turned into a different channel. All history records that war is an injury to trade and commerce, and that peace makes commerce thrive; and for this reason business men are interested in the success of this movement, and will coöperate with such societies as that represented here to-night to make this peace cause their own.

Resolutions may be passed by this society and by commercial bodies and similar organizations from now to the next century, without accomplishing any good result, unless they are followed by persistent and aggregated effort.

A movement was initiated a few years ago by the commercial bodies of Massachusetts to create a national business department at Washington, and it was over fourteen years before the Department of Labor and Commerce was a reality. That means that we had to knock at the doors of Congress every year for fourteen years with all the influence that we had at our command in order to create that great Department. And that will be the case in the matter of arbitration treaties, though perhaps not so much so, because they are gradually becoming a great factor in the administering of public affairs in all countries.

But there is an element on which I place fully as much dependence as upon the business community, or any other influence that we know anything about, for this cause, and that is the women of the world. [Applause.] They are persistent, they are sentimental, and they are enthusiastic, and when they commence in any lines of reform, my observation has shown that they never halt till they have accomplished the desired result.

But I can assure you, Mr. President, that the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, through its commercial bodies and membership, will heartily coöperate with your organization in carrying on the good work, although we may not be able to give attention to the details as this Society can, organized as it is practically for this work. And let me say in regard to the proposed neutral zones, which I think are to be an important consideration in the movement, that the State Board of Trade forwarded the neutral zone resolutions to Congress, and with the approval of this Society has sent its circulars all over this country, and forwarded large numbers of them to England, France and Germany, and have asked the commercial bodies of those countries to join with us in what we believe will prove to be a powerful wedge in accomplishing the results that we all desire.

Address of Hon. George H. Martin, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The suggestion of calling upon the children of the State to unite in the celebration of this anniversary, the 18th of May, came to me from Mrs. Mead and Mr. Trueblood. It was my very great privilege and pleasure to follow the suggestion, and to do what I could to introduce the subject to the thought of the school people of the State. And in doing that I was helped also by some other people who began their work a long time ago. When the proposition came to me I wondered just how I could do it without seeming to be officious, and yet do it officially. It occurred to me that in an old school law made more than a hundred years ago there was a very interesting collocation of virtues prescribed for all instructors of youth, beginning with the president of Harvard college down through the college professors and preceptors of academies to all other teachers. They were required to use their best endeavors to instill into the minds of the children and youth committed to their care among other virtues these three: "love of country, humanity and universal benevolence." There I saw my opportunity. The schools had for years required by local rules to develop the love of country by special exercises on Washington's birthday, the 19th of April and Memorial Day. I saw at once that those other two virtues which the fathers had placed by the side of love of country — humanity and universal benevolence — were the very ones which were to be commemorated on this day. And so it was purely an official act to invite the school people of the State to do what they had been all their lives under legal obligation to do. I had simply to call attention to an old law, and to ask them to obey it.

And they have accepted the suggestion with very great unanimity, and Dr. Trueblood has been almost overwhelmed with applications for peace literature to be used in the schools. So that the movement which this society has begun has been growing auspiciously and is likely to continue and spread. The superintendent of public instruction in Ohio prepared a circular similar to ours and sent it over that State. So a beginning has been made. We see that this is the place to begin. Any movement that touches humanity so deeply must get into the minds of children. We must expect that the development of this peace idea will be slow because as soon as we begin we find ourselves pretty closely in contact with some of the most elemental instincts of humanity.

I picked up a paper from Michigan that told of two little girls. A mother discovered her own little girl in rather forcible combat with another. She took her beside her knee and began to talk to her in regard to it, telling her how wrong it was, and said, "Satan must have put that thought into your heart." The little girl said, "Well, perhaps he told me about pulling her hair, but I thought about kicking her shins all by myself!"

So we are in contact, as I say, with some very elemental instincts when we teach peace in the public schools.

When we come really to talk about peace and war, with the idea of instilling fundamental principles, we shall need to remember, in connection with all educational work, that there are evils of peace as well as evils of war. "Peace hath her victories." Peace hath her crimes no less disastrous than those of war. We say war lets loose all the passions of men. True. So may peace. The opportunity and the immunity that war may bring, money can buy in times of peace — and does. That Rome that Milton described in the "Hymn to the Nativity," that time when

> "No war or battle's sound
> Was heard the world around:
> The idle spear and shield were high up hung;
> The hookèd chariot stood
> Unstain'd with hostile blood;
> The trumpet spake not to the armèd throng;"

— that was the very Rome that Juvenal described in his satires and Paul in his first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans — the same Rome at peace. There are evils of peace. And so, when I came to study this old school law I saw how wise the men who made it were. They grouped about these virtues of which I have spoken certain others. A remarkable body of men composed the Massachusetts Legislature of 1789, the first General Court that assembled after the establishment of the Constitution of the United States. John Hancock was Governor of the Commonwealth, Samuel Adams, Lieutenant-Governor. In the House of Representatives were two men who afterward became governors, Christopher Gore and William Eustis. In the House also was Benjamin Lincoln, Major-General, Washington's familiar friend and associate through the Revolution. General Glover of Marblehead was there, and there were fifty men with the title captain, major, or colonel — how many lower officers I do not know. But there was a body of men who had fought through the whole series of battles of the Revolution, and had personally participated in all the events which are associated with the establishment of the government of Massachusetts and of the United States. Now, when they came to formulate a school law in which, as they said, there should be placed foundation principles (the phrase that they used was "basis of republican constitution"), we might have supposed, I think, that they would have emphasized love of country more than anything else. If we had asked John Hancock what were the conditions of good citizenship, we might suppose he would have said: recognition of the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, the inalienable rights of man; that Sam Adams would have named as the fundamental principle local government embodied in the New England town meeting; the younger John Winthrop in the same House might have said: those fundamental principles of religious liberty for which his great ancestor emigrated to this country. We might have supposed that Lincoln and Glover and the rest would have said that the foundation of this republic lay in the local militia of trained men ready to spring at the call of the country in time of struggle and stress. But none of those men, nor all of them together, said any such thing. They said this — and this is the significant part of it, it seems to me, the line along which any education in the interest of local or universal peace must lie — they said this: they named twelve virtues, among which were love of country, humanity and universal benevolence. They buttressed those three around with these others: piety, justice, and a sacred regard for truth, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance. These, they say, are the "basis of a republican constitution," principles upon which any free government must rest. And so, it seems to me, while we are teaching these young people love of country, and humanity, and universal benevolence, it is only as we are grounding them in these fundamental principles of private and civic morals that we are giving them that which will ultimately fit them best to maintain these higher principles. It seems to me that when in all our schools all our teachers are fulfilling these injunctions of the fathers to instill into the minds of the children all these virtues, patriotism will be more than militarism, and peace will be peace with honor. Then, and then only, every day will be a patriot's day, and every day will be a peace day. [Applause.]

Address of Rev. Francis H. Rowley, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Boston.

Mr. President and Dear Friends, — I am not here to-night because I had the faintest idea I could make even a brief speech worthy of this occasion. I am here because our honored Secretary could not find the right man. He appealed to me in his extremity, and I answered the appeal. I can say with all sincerity that I would rather not speak. The less some men say, the better for their reputations. But I felt that if men had been willing to fight and bleed and die in the name of war, I ought to be willing to sacrifice what little reputation I have, and even inflict myself upon you, in the holy name of peace.

I have tried a good many times to discover why I am a lover of peace and a hater of war. I have sometimes thought it was because I am a coward. I would run away any time that I might "live to fight another day." I have sometimes thought it was due to my Quaker ancestry, something of which I grow prouder as I grow older. I have even dared hope it might be because I had caught just a little of the spirit of Him we call the Prince of Peace. Mr. Morley says, in his life of Gladstone, that "active hatred of cruelty, injustice and oppression is perhaps the main difference between a good man and a bad man." By that test I know where some of you stand to-night.

In the ninth chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, in that vision of the princely seer of Israel of the time when the people who sit in darkness shall see a great light, and when the yoke of their burden and the rod of their oppressor are broken, there occurs a very strange verse that seems out of all harmony with the peaceful scene that evidently rises before the prophet's eye. It reads: "For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and with fuel of fire!" But turn to the revision, and you see at once how the verse falls into the most beautiful harmony with that day toward which the prophet looks, for then you read: "For all the armor of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood shall even be for burning, and for fuel of fire." [Applause.]

Of course it was only a dream, an inspired dream, if

you will, but one of those dreams that, though it take a thousand centuries, has got to come true, because at the heart of our universe there lives and reigns the Eternal Righteousness and the Eternal Goodness.

If I know anything about it, the best work ever done in this world has been done by men of faith, by men inspired by high ideals, who have believed in those ideals, no matter how far away their fulfillment seemed. John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips lived by faith. "They endured as seeing Him who is invisible." All three of them might have died before their dream had come true, and all three had died knowing they stood on the winning side. Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children," the Earl of Shaftesbury's plea for the oppressed in mine and city were cries "in the night," but they were calls to that day that had to dawn since "God's in his heaven." This Society that meets here to-night while the most awful war of history is "staining the world incarnadine" was never surer of the ultimate triumph of its cause than it is now! The whole progress of our humanity is away from the "ape and tiger," away from "Nature, red in tooth and claw," and up to the stature of the perfect man. This frightful relapse into savagery and animalism is a startling warning that the world has got to heed. Sometimes a look into the very depths whither we have fallen becomes our sublimest inspiration to turn about and begin again the upward climb. It has seemed to me as if God were saying to the nations of the earth, ever putting their trust in mightier armaments and outrivaling each other in the accumulation of instruments of destruction: "This is war as you have made it, always devilish, now more Satanic than ever. Keep on inventing and manufacturing your great death-machines, and war will mean soon to any two of you, equally matched, nothing less than mutual annihilation, a gigantic duel with both combatants dead at last upon the field."

One of the saddest things to me in this war — one of the most pathetic things, perhaps I should say — was the death of that great Russian artist and enemy of war, the famous Verestschagin, who went down, you remember, on the ill-fated battleship at Port Arthur. He did not belong to that school of painters whose battlefields give you only the splendid trappings, the glittering pomp and the seeming glory of war. The battlefield he put upon the canvas was as realistic as any novel that Zola ever wrote. You see all the carnage, all the inhumanity, all the barbarism, all the cruelty of it. Do you recall his "Apotheosis of War," dedicated "To all Conquerors, past, present and future"? What did he put on the canvas? A pyramide of human skulls, with a flock of carrion-crows perched on its summit! Do you remember his painting "Left Behind"? Lying on the edge of the desert is a forsaken and dying soldier, forgotten by his comrades, who have marched on and passed from sight. The great sun is going down in the background behind the silent hills, while the birds of prey are already circling around the lonely victims' head.

I remember two pictures in the Peace and War Museum in Lucerne, that fixed themselves very distinctly on my memory two years ago. Some of you will recall them. I think they are entitled "Peace" and "War." They were both of the same landscape. In the one the cattle and the flocks were feeding in the quiet meadows, and the harvesters were gathering the ripened grain, and here and there all over the landscape the smoke from peaceful cottages rose into the air; everything spoke of calm, peace, joy, prosperity. And then the same landscape — no cattle feeding in the field, the ripened grain trampled into the blood-stained soil, the cottages destroyed, wounded and dying men stretched everywhere before your eyes! War, with all its wreck and ruin and horror, had changed a scene that the good God must have looked down upon with gladness into one that the very devils in hell might gloat over!

"Let the world have peace five hundred years," said Theodore Parker once, "and the aristocracy of blood will have gone; the aristocracy of gold will have come and gone; that of talent will have come and gone; and the aristocracy of goodness, which is the democracy of man, the government of all and for all and by all, will be the power which is." [Applause.]

If there is one word that I would leave as my contribution to the thought of this hour, it is the word of faith in the ultimate triumph of this cause we love. It seems to many a man but the dream of an idealist. We are told over and over again that it is an impossibility in any such world as you and I know. But it is coming — it must come — with the coming of that perhaps "far-off" but

> "divine event
> To which the whole creation moves."

Then —

> "Fear not to build thine eyrie in the heights
> Where golden splendors play;
> And trust thyself unto thine inmost soul,
> In simple faith alway;
> For God will make divinely real
> The highest forms of thine ideal!"

[Applause.]

Address of Elwyn G. Preston, Secretary of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It seems an intrusion, after the beautiful address to which you have just listened, for me to say even a word, and my impulse was to strike for the door or rise in protest when Mr. Paine started to introduce me. Since I was invited to come here I have found my time so unexpectedly absorbed that the only way in which I felt it possible for me to join in these exercises was to commit my thoughts to paper and present them in that form. But I realize the futility of my doing that now, and I therefore propose to abandon what I would have liked to say and content myself with a few observations suggested by this occasion.

I accepted the invitation to speak to-night because it gave me an opportunity to utter a word of protest against what I believe to be a misconception respecting the attitude of business men toward this great question. So surprising is it to many people that commercial interests should array themselves solidly behind a great moral idea, that they seek an explanation in harmony with their preconception as to the nature and attitude of mind of the average business man, and consequently it has been assumed in this country, as also in England and France, where the business men have taken an advanced position upon this matter, that it was because

they recognized that war means interruption to trade, consequently interruption to the stream of dollars flowing into rapacious and capacious pockets, that it spells depression in business and loss of profits, and that consequently the voice of the business man is heard in the land where before was only the call to duty from the lips of the preacher. Now it is not enough, in explanation of the attitude in recent years of the business men, to call attention to the work of Dr. Barclay or President Paine or Dr. Trueblood or Mr. Mead, important as their work of propaganda has been. The reason lies deeper than that, deeper than the material interests which the business men have in uninterrupted trade. To be sure, the growth of sentiment in this country has come coincidentally with a vast increase in our foreign trade, an increase so great as to amaze and dismay our competitors.

Yet, notwithstanding all that, I assert that the attitude of business men in opposition to war as a means of settlement of international disputes is not determined wholly or even largely by sordid considerations. It has been my good fortune to have a slight opportunity during the past ten or fifteen years to see below the surface of things somewhat, and get what I believe to be a truer idea of the average business man, and therefore it is my conviction that the business men have become interested in this question mainly because of a deep and real sense of the essential brotherhood of man, and that sense has come to them by means of this very commercial intercourse between nations. It has been borne into the consciousness of our business men by these means that the German whom he meets in China, the Frenchman whom he finds in the countries of the Mediterranean and the Nile, the Englishman who, side by side with us, enters the solitudes of Africa or the virgin markets of South America, are brethren, engaged in peaceful pursuits, not restless for conquest or seeking another's injury. [Applause.]

Commerce has roused the moral sense of the business community against this moral wrong. And there has arisen in this country, as there has arisen in France and England and to some extent in Germany, a wave of protest by the business men against their countries being involved in wicked and cruel and wasteful war. And so the word I intended to bring to-night, — and I was despoiled of my opportunity by the brilliancy of the speakers who have preceded me, — the word I intended to bring was that, as we are congratulating ourselves on the spread of peace sentiment among all classes of people in this country and in foreign lands, let us not do the business men the injustice of believing that their interest in this cause, which I believe to be the greatest cause that has commanded the attention of the world in my generation at least, is due to sordid motives. Let us rather do them the honor of believing that they are unselfish advocates of a higher law than the law of brute force in the settlement of disputes, whether international or otherwise. It is to this recognition I believe they are entitled. [Applause.]

The revised notes of the address of Ex-Governor Bates have not been received in time for insertion in this issue.

The Arrest and Reduction of Armaments an Urgent Necessity.

Address of Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant in the French Senate on the 11th of April, when the Navy Budget was under consideration.

Gentlemen: We heartily applauded the eloquent discourse of the President of the Council at the opening of the discussion on the budget.

No one better than he could have rendered just homage to the work of regeneration which has within the last thirty-five years redeemed France from her disasters and repaired so many mistakes of the past. But the more admirable this work has been, the more it is our duty to watch lest it be compromised. The general reporter on the budget will himself also have performed a great service if he applies himself once more with his extraordinary ardor to its defense. The gloomy picture which he has drawn of our actual financial situation and of the dangers of the future ought thoroughly to arouse public opinion. It merits as large publicity as possible, for it is wise. Mr. Antonin Dubost evidently had this in mind, for he wrote: "The country, the parliament, the government itself, is ignorant of the true state of our finances."

This ignorance each one of us ought to try to dissipate according to the measure of his strength, not underestimating the amelioration already accomplished by the government in recent years, but rather seeking to make them greater. This is what I propose to do as to what concerns our naval expenses, the increase of which I am about candidly to oppose.

I leave aside the question of finding out whether or not our credits are being properly used, and whether our administration of the marine, as well as that of other countries, will ever find a solution of the problem of constantly modifying itself with its colossal material, in the midst of the controversies with which we are familiar, and following the daily discoveries of international science. Others more competent than I have tried to distribute responsibility between men and circumstances. I shall keep myself, without party spirit, as far as possible from criticism of individuals or of ministers, upon ground common to us all, the ground of the national defense.

There is not a single member of parliament, in France or elsewhere, who does not desire above all things to assure the national independence, the moral and material security of the country. There is no one who does not understand that without that security labor, internal prosperity, proper foreign relations, even progress itself, are all impossible, and that peace would be only a name, or rather a lie, a temptation offered to injustice and violence, to those eternal enemies which President Roosevelt has recently termed the "powers of evil."

How are we to bring about this security? That is the whole question. I will speak of nothing else.

Will it be by the adoption of a naval, military and colonial program? That goes without saying. We shall never have too much method and organization in that class of affairs. Our three armies, on land, sea and in the colonies, ought to have a single budget, and to be controlled by a homogeneous administration, dictated by our economic and financial situation, and by our relations

with the world at large. Long ago that archaic expression, "ministry of war," ought to have given place to that of "ministry of national defense," which implies the harmony and not the anarchy of all the elements of our activity. That will be the only way to put an end to these contradictions, risks of conflict, those inconceivable wastes, the comic and striking story of which has just been related to us with so much spirit by Mr. Antonin Dubost.

But what should be the nature of this program?

Here, gentlemen, is a new proof of the ignorance which Mr. Antonin Dubost complains of. The project of increasing our naval expenditures is sufficiently serious in itself, it would seem, to force itself upon our attention, to demand our thorough investigation. But, no! During a whole week, only a month since, the Chamber of Deputies had the question under consideration. Finally it reached a solution by a vote in accordance with the declarations of the government. That does not prevent the President of the Council, in speaking to the Senate, from already having forgotten these facts; the Minister of Finance does not know what the Minister of Marine has said; the right hand of the government does not know what its left hand is doing. Mr. Rouvier is even astonished that any allusion should be made to those future expenses estimated, by no one knows whom or why, at more than a thousand million francs. He characterizes as "vague and nebulous" the projects with which we are occupied; according to him the danger exists only in our imagination.

The Minister of Finance will permit me not to share in his optimism. The recent debates in the Chamber of Deputies, the projects and the declarations of the government concerning the necessity of keeping up for twelve years, until 1917, the exceptional effort of 1900, are not a dream. Nothing is more real, and the less it is spoken of in the Senate the more we have reason to be occupied with it while there is still time.

During the course of the discussion in the Chamber of Deputies they did not confine themselves to the determination of a rational method of procedure; they went much beyond this. They have confounded two quite distinct things: the elaboration of a program, an act of wisdom, and the increase of our expenditures, an act of folly. They wish to persuade us that one does not go without the other. Yet the contrary is true. A good naval program ought to be in harmony with our resources; it implies economy and not increasing expense; it ought to substitute quality for quantity, strength for mere show; otherwise it is a parade program, a deception. However rich a country may be, it cannot be fortified by crushing it with burdens; that only exhausts it and exposes it to catastrophe.

And this elementary reasoning, be assured, is not applicable to France alone. Possibly we even have, in spite of everything, a greater future before us, more power of resistance than our neighbors. I have proved this many times, for we are relatively less menaced by competition and by social revolution. In all the parliaments the ideas which I am expressing have been set forth, in the name of patriotism and of reason, for parliaments are many, but truth is one. All the great powers feel themselves imperilled before the exactions of the "armed peace"; every one of them curses the general current which is dragging it on, but no one dares resist, and the governments, confronted with the uneasiness of the people, appear at the same time powerless either to stop or to go on.

As to France, we are rapidly approaching a new crisis. The recent discussion of the navy credits for 1905 in the Chamber of Deputies, and the interpellation which preceded it, were only a bait, a prelude to new increases in our naval expenditures. Read the report, the speeches of the reporter of the budget, of the president of the budget commission, of the Minister of Marine, the protestations and reservations of several of the deputies, notably those of former ministers, authors of the program of 1900, the vote finally passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 23d of February, by 450 to 108, and worded thus: "The Chamber invites the government to present with as little delay as possible a program for the construction of new warships,"— read these and you will see that there is unfortunately nothing nebulous in it, and that, if our naval expenditures ceased for a moment the past year to increase, and were even slightly reduced, the time of arrest has now passed. They tell us that we ought, without deceiving ourselves, "to prepare ourselves for great sacrifices," and, to quote the very words of the reporter, "to begin anew the steady advance of our naval expenditures, to put into the budget as a whole an ever-increasing portion for the navy."

This very year the expenses of the navy have increased more than five millions of francs, as compared with those of 1904 — an insignificant increase, they tell us, in comparison with the expenses of the future. To have a fleet worthy of our traditions, of our expansion, a fleet in accordance with our policy, such is the sole preoccupation, the "*leit motif*" of the partisans of naval increase.

How great do they consider to be the amount of the increase which is judged indispensable? We can only guess.

The program of 1900 assumed an annual expenditure for new vessels to the full extent of the capacity of our shipyards; that is to say, one hundred and five to one hundred and twenty million francs per year — one hundred and twenty-one million, the Minister of Marine declares, and I quote his own words, from his speech of February 22: "I come now to the chief question in this debate, the necessary increase of our naval forces. It is certain that the Budget Commission is right, a serious effort is necessary in order to increase our naval forces. Yes, such an effort is imperative." And further along: "We shall not have to pay in any single year, until in 1917, a sum greater than one hundred and twenty-one millions for our new vessels." That is, be it said in parenthesis, a total of one billion and a half francs, to be exact, one billion four hundred and fifty-two millions, for new ships.

But the new ships are not all. To the annual burden which an ironclad costing thirty to forty million francs imposes, must be added the expenses of maintenance, both personal and material, for repairs and inevitable changes. We have neglected, on the other hand, in carrying out the program of 1900 with our ordinary resources, important expenses, secondary but vital, which cannot be put off indefinitely. There is also the question of supplies. The wear and tear of a warship

becomes a formidable matter; it increases with the speed and the rapidity of fire. Why overload our ironclads with cannon if they are without sufficient projectiles, like those of the Spaniards in Cuba? The budget reporter in the Chamber of Deputies calls to mind the example of Japan, which has been able to sustain a struggle of more than a year; and he warns us that to-day our Mediterranean fleet would not have enough large projectiles to meet a combat of two hours and a half in duration. It is the same with the matter of coal. As for our naval harbors, they also require further outlay. And these expenses are immediately imperative, from the very fact of progress. The river Brest, for example,— and it is not the only one,— is no longer large enough to meet our requirements. The vessels, when launched, are too large to follow its course without accident as far as the breakwater, and their first attempt obliges them to return for repairs.

It is the same with our arsenals. Their outfit is out of date. Workmen are compelled to use machines forty and fifty years old. And I am not speaking of the defense of the colonies, of a great supplementary naval port, which the colonial deputies, always prodigal of the money of the metropolis ——

Mr. Jules Godin: You are mistaken.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: Do not force me to indulge in personalities. There are exceptions, I know, but the exception proves the rule. The colonial deputies ask us to create in Indo-China a new military port with its appendages, arsenals, fortifications, magazines, storehouses, garrisons.

Finally, the personnel of our new vessels, under the new law requiring but two years' service, will be kept up only by means of increased pay and the creation of schools, etc.

To resume: Increase of expenditures for the building of new ships, for keeping them in good repair and up to date, to provide them with harbors suitable to their size, even in our possessions over seas, and arsenals according to their needs, to furnish them with equipments, — such are the prospects which are before us, such are the sacrifices which are demanded of us, that we may have in the end not the fleet which is suitable for us, but the fleet demanded by our policy.

The fleet demanded by our policy? But we should first know what our policy is. I insist that the fleet demanded by our policy is not an element of security; it is rather a new danger, the gravest of all the dangers, if we have not that policy which is in harmony with our resources. Is this our policy? In other words, are we in a condition to carry out our fine projects? No. This is the truth which the country ought to know. The Senate will pardon me if I again give the proofs of this, since in spite of so many warnings, reiterated for the last ten years, it is invariably unknown.

How, pray, are we to meet the expenses into which we are being forced? By a loan? In time of profound peace? What, then, should we do in time of war? No country would authorize such a loan. No one in France at any rate would dare propose to increase still further our debt, already above thirty thousand million francs (to speak only of the state debt), — the most formidable that a nation has ever known, twice that of England, twice that of Germany. Nor would any one propose to try again the artifice of extraordinary budgets. Nor, furthermore, can we give up the sinking funds already too much neglected. There remains for us, then, no expedient, nothing outside our ordinary annual resources. What these are every one knows. Our receipts are estimated, for 1905, at three billion six hundred million francs, out of which two billions are already set apart for the reduction of our debt and for our military organization.

There remains a billion and a half for the current expenses of our country. That is a very small sum. It is anomalous to see the burdens of the past and the outlay for purposes of destruction so heavily outweigh the outlay for productive purposes. Such a disparity renders illusory the greater part of our projects for economic, intellectual and social reform. But let us go on. Let us see what we can get out of that billion and a half. Can it be increased? Are our receipts going to keep pace with our expenditures? Is our population increasing? Do we see developing, in comparison with our competitors, our commerce, our merchant marine, our agriculture, our industry, all the sources, all the signs of the national prosperity?

First, let us consider our population. That it remains stationary is well known, while that of the other great powers is increasing. We have steadily about thirty-eight million inhabitants. England has caught up with us, and now goes beyond us with forty-one million, Japan with forty-six million, Germany with fifty-six million. The United States has just double our number, seventy-six million, and that country is only just commencing. I do not speak of Russia, which has more than one hundred million, and China, which has from four hundred million to five hundred million, a negligible quantity we were saying to ourselves twenty years ago.

This difference between the small population of France and that of the other countries ought always to be kept in mind. People are amazed at the increasing number of functionaries and of the leisured classes, to say nothing of the progress of intemperance and prostitution. All these would disappear if our youth could properly employ the activity with which they are overflowing. This is proved by their success as soon as a new career is open to them in the domain of invention, art, science, and their application.

A state, the number of whose taxpayers has doubled, can double its expenses without increasing its burdens. But if we would imitate it we must double our imposts, make the same taxpayers pay twice over, paralyze labor, crush the country; that is the mathematics of the thing.

But some one will say that increase of population is not the only sign of a people's wealth. France is a privileged country. She has no need of a large number of inhabitants. Her climate, her soil, her specialties, her inheritance from the past are veritable monopolies with her. By producing a high class of people she will always keep her rank; she will always have money to pay for her fleets.

There is another illusion. It is with our economic development as with our population; the arrest is evident. On this point I appeal to the authority of the general reporter on the budget in the Chamber of Deputies. In a recent paper, the 5th of March, the honorable

Mr. Baudin writes: "A sorry outlook; money is passing from sight or leaving the country. Our burdens are going to increase in enormous proportions, but our receipts do not increase. The income of the land tax has remained stationary the past ten years. The amount of our harvests is the same. Our commerce and our industry are not following in their entirety the same growth as in the other countries. Where shall we get the means with which to meet our supplementary expenses? The outlook is terrible!"

I shall be told that by a singular coincidence the two general reporters of the Chamber and the Senate look at the dark side. I could support their testimony with that of many others. I shall do better than that; I shall make use of the same arguments which the defenders of the increase of our naval expenditures have just employed in the Chamber of Deputies.

In his speech of the 21st of February last, the reporter of the naval budget in the Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Charles Bos, did not conceal at all the extent of the sacrifices which he recommended to us. He recognizes that our expenses for construction and for maintenance of vessels have reached, in ten years alone, the sum of three billions of francs, — two thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine millions, — and that our naval and military expenses together have increased in the same period thirty-eight million for war and forty-two million for the navy — eighty million in all as compared to the preceding period. But he consoles himself immediately by telling us that the other departments have likewise raised their credits.

That is a matter of course, gentlemen, with regard to public instruction, although the increase here is relatively small — thirty-two million — in comparison with eighty million for military purposes.

Mr. Charles Riou: And the limit is not yet reached.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: The public instruction budget is also a budget of national defense. A people does not fight with weapons alone; it has need of a lofty soul, education, educators. These educators are furnished by our schools. In the Russian army they have been wanting. This was partly, says Mr. Recouly, military correspondent of *Le Temps*, the cause of its reverses in Manchuria. I have then a right to be astonished when a manifest lack of increase in our credits for public instruction is interpreted as a mark of progress.

The same is true in regard to the post and the telegraph, which represent an infant industry in full progress. This industry, I grant you, is developing, but more slowly than in most other countries. And why? The Hon. Mr. Piettre was telling you only a moment ago. It is because appropriations are taken away from it in part, in order to support the military budgets.

As for commerce, Mr. Charles Bos rejoices to see its expenditures increased by twenty-three millions. He thinks the country credulous enough not to examine into the matter more closely. The truth, however, is clearly evident. Of the forty-nine millions which the Department of Commerce expends annually, it devotes forty to paying bounties to industries which cannot live of themselves. The President of the Council has recognized this; and this sign of distress is presented to us as a symptom of prosperity.

Agriculture, less favored than commerce, does not offer even the appearance of increase. "This department is essentially one of subventions," writes our colleague, Mr. Denoix. Its budget is invariably about forty-three million francs.

As to the Department of Public Works, nothing is said. Its outlay, however, preëminently reveals our condition. Has this increased? Naturally so, since we must meet the universal competition, and compete with new peoples provided with the most perfect means of production. Like that of education, the budget of Public Works is a budget of national defense. Its outlays constitute means of action; they serve to increase our resources. In the last two years, notably, the development of our international relations has attracted large numbers of foreigners to Paris, to our watering places, to our health resorts, and to our lines of travel. We ought not to be sparing in certain outlays for which we shall be a thousand times repaid, in bettering in France the public roads, hygiene and access to our shores. Not so! The expenditures of the Department of Public Works have been reduced thirty-four millions.

Mr. Charles Laurent (Government Commissioner): There is the guarantee of interest.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: There are also other causes. There are expenditures which might have been made and which have not been made.

The General Reporter: It is very important to add to the items of the budget of Public Works credits which figure in other budgets for the same object. Otherwise you would not have the whole of the annual expenditure for public works.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: Yes, sir, I heard you develop that very appropriate argument on the tribune, and I am taking it into account. But if you will permit, I am going to call to mind other considerations which authorize me in my turn to say that more ought to have been used on the great public works.

Mr. Victor Leydet: It ought to have been so, because they have already been voted for, for the most part.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: That is evident. Our predecessors, gentlemen, understood better their interests and their duty. Only twenty-five years ago our foreign relations were more unpleasant and difficult to handle than now. The war of 1870 was then recent, the prospect of war in 1875 still more recent. France had to make good her losses, pay her debt, create anew the elements of her defense. And yet the men who assumed this heavy burden understood the complexity of it, and took up vigorously their program of military, financial, educational and economic reorganization. Your president, at the present time, of the army commission submitted to the patriotism of the Parliament in January, 1878, the admirable plan which bears his name — the Freycinet plan.

It involved an expenditure of four billion francs in all: three billion for railways, one billion for good roads and ports. The railways have been constructed, but the billion which ought, by natural circulation, to have served to develop the most fertile parts of our country, has been turned to other uses. In thirty years we have not been able to give one billion for productive works, but we have spent three billions in ten years alone for the war

marine. While pretending to ask for more each year through taxation, we are neglecting the valleys of France which would be the most productive. The Rhone has no outlet; the Loire, the Garonne, filled with sand bars, are going back to their wild condition. For want of the smallest credits, river navigation exists no longer in a part of France, and the only attention paid to our finest rivers is to repair the disasters of flood brought on by our heedlessness. A single inundation cost fifty million francs in damages; in this respect our administration approaches "Arabian disorder,"— carelessness the more culpable because only a little effort would be required for the restoration of vitality everywhere, as is attested by the results obtained, and that almost without money, by our forestry commission in its work of restoring the forests.

The abandonment of our river regions, which coincides with the increase of our naval constructions, has as its result the transfer of our working people to the arsenals. These people go where the wages are the highest. In opening to them the national workshops along the coasts, you strip the fertile lands of their inhabitants to create new classes of functionaries and of the unemployed. You leave ruin where nature offered you riches; you create an artificial activity, a cause of inevitable disorder; for sooner or later, on the day when that activity diminishes, a strike breaks out in the shipyards, and everywhere there is discontent.

This is a very natural reaction since (quoting always from the budget reporter in the Chamber of Deputies) out of twenty-seven thousand workmen in our arsenals, twelve thousand are unemployed, and the rest are often without work. Are our commercial harbors in better condition than our war harbors? Far from it. Isolated from their natural sources in the interior, closed to river navigation, our chief seaports, our historic ports, Nantes, Bordeaux, are at the same time inaccessible to the large ocean steamers.

Mr. Alcide Treille: Nantes has made considerable progress for some years.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: I have many times spoken in commendatory terms of the development of the port of Nantes. But Nantes is so much the more to be praised because of its effort to react against the government neglect of the entire basin of the Loire.

Mr. Peytral: You know that large sums have recently been voted.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: But you of all men, my dear colleague, would not wish to see Marseilles without communication with the Rhone.

Mr. Peytral: I mean simply that the same vote which gave Marseilles the necessary funds for the canal from Marseilles to the Rhone, at the same time gave to the town of Nantes very important credits.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: I am aware of that, but the Loire is still not navigable, and Marseilles is none the less without communication with the Rhone. Havre is forced to witness the majestic transatlantic steamers from Hamburg passing outside of its shallow waters and picking up at the extreme end of our coast our travelers and our merchandise. Our subsidized steamers, on their return from New York, where the people embark as well as land at the dock, are obliged to stop for hours in sight of Havre without being able to enter until the tide is in. In the stormiest weather their passengers are compelled to be transferred to small boats, an experience not soon forgotten. The bad reputation thus acquired causes the fortune of other European ports, much worse situated but less antiquated.

As to our interior ports, they ought all to be flourishing stations on the great river routes binding the Atlantic and the Mediterranean to Central Europe. It is a pity to see these beautiful French rivers flowing useless and deserted past abandoned wharves, — Agen, Toulouse, Orleans, Tours, Mans, and many others! Yet you make no protest! Will you remain forever untrue to your natural mission, to your role of intermediary among the nations?

Our merchant marine is being ruined by your neglect, deprived of the very means of existence; but we vote it in return subsidies — and ironclads. . . .

Mr. Victor Leydet: A little freight would be more valuable.

[COMPLETED IN NEXT ISSUE.]

The twenty-third conference of the International Law Association will open at Christiania, Norway, on the 4th of September.

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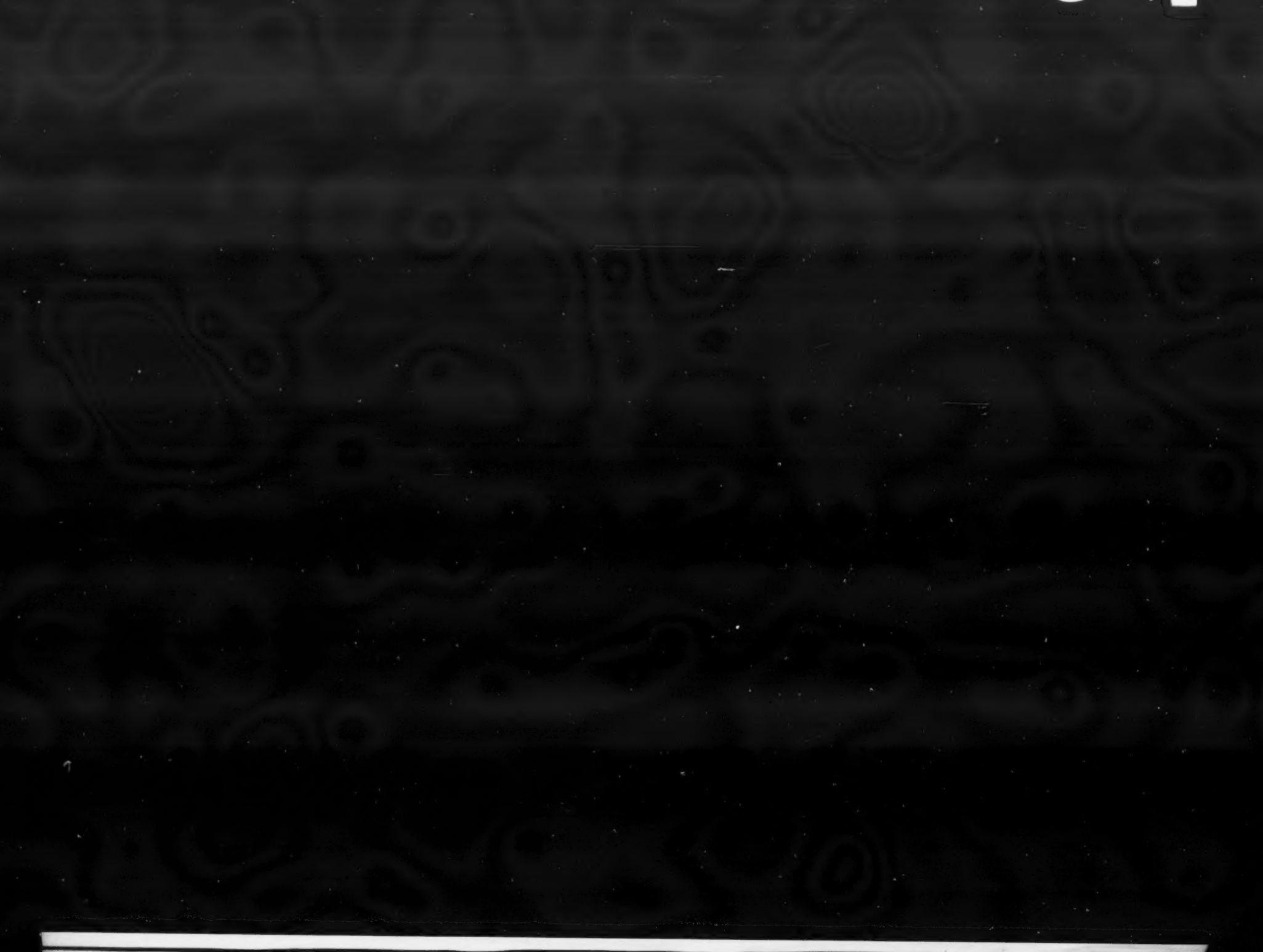
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